/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential S [271] [273] drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thies market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, S SR 369 234 438 they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR F single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [233] [465] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

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465] /380 cont./ to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

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465] The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply
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[231
417] into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these sub-
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[361] urban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

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369 Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages
S near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

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162 The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [571] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay have always been considerably higher than in commerce [465] and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, has protested against the use of the term family [736] parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

467 668 focussing on some of their asserted policies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city [369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the • [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period [466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were [468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 668 563 (2) In the field of union activities the hostility between the European component and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and [468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 178]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 those of the African unions.[50] The acute
468 crises produced by certain important
668 strikes gave forceful expression to this
563 rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the
• [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil
[578] administration and against European controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 (3) This was also the principal cause
468 of their ultimate success. During such
668 conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and
467 that carried the day.[51] It must be further
668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18 A]

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162 463 [427] the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 463 [427] [426] The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, ●[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and 571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

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795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [467] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver- [465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
• [465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

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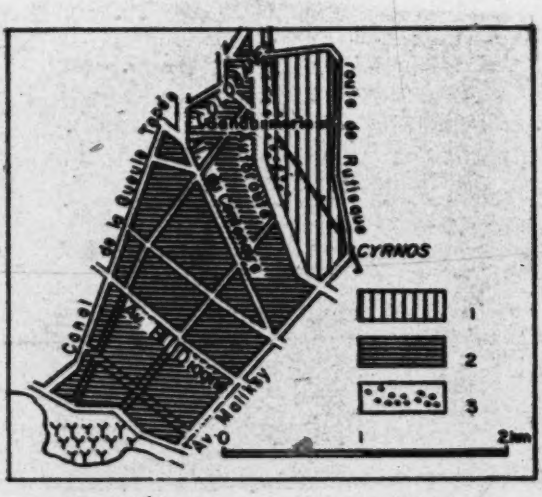

Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/ studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

[361] [362] [465] [647]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

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743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,

465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

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465 357 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid between 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 465 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As [241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 166 167 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut cultivation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A 244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the 466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

[465] At the time of his departure, the navétane must reimburse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

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244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the [496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it